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President of the Presidency of Bosnia and Hercegovina

THE ISLAMIC DECLARATION

A Programme for the Islamization of Muslims and the Muslim Peoples

Sarajevo, 1990

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OUR GOAL: The Islamization of Muslims

OUR MOTTO: Believe and struggle

BISMILLAHIRAHMANIRRAHIM!

The Declaration which we today present to the public is not prescribed reading, intended to demonstrate to foreigners or doubters the superiority of Islam over any particular system or school of thought.

It is intended for Muslims who know where they belong and whose hearts clearly tell them which side they stand on. For such as these, this Declaration is a call to understand the inevitable consequences of that to which their love and allegiance bind them.

The entire Muslim world is in a state of ferment and change. Whatever whatever form it eventually takes when the initial effects of these changes is felt, one thing is certain: it will no longer be the world of the first half of this century. The age of passivity and stagnation has gone forever.

Everyone is trying to make take advantage of this time of movement and change, particularly foreign powers, both East and West. Instead of their armies, they now use ideas and capital, and by a new mode of influence are once more endeavouring to accomplish the same aim: to ensure their presence and keep the Muslim nations in a state of spiritual helplessness and material and political dependence.

China, Russia and the Western countries quarrel as to who among them will extend patronage and to which part of the Muslim

world. Theirs is a pointless dispute. The Islamic world does not belong to them, but to the Muslim peoples.

A world of 700 million people with enormous natural resources, occupying a first class geographical position, heir to colossal cultural and political traditions and the proponent of living Islamic thought, cannot long remain in a state of vassalage. There is no power which can check the new Muslim generation from putting an end to this abnormal state of affairs.

In this conviction, we announce to our friends and enemies alike that Muslims are determined to take the fate of the Islamic world into their own hands and arrange that world according to their own vision of it.

From this point of view, the ideas contained in the Declaration are not absolutely new. This is rather a synthesis of ideas heard with increasing frequency in various places and which are accorded about the same importance in all parts of the Muslim world. Its novelty lies in that it seeks to promote ideas and plans into organized action.

The struggle towards new goals did not begin today. On the contrary, it has already experienced *shihada** and its history contains pages of the suffering of its victims. Still, this is mainly the personal sacrifice of exceptional individuals or courageous minor groups in collision with the mighty forces of the *Jahiliya**. The magnitude of the problem and its difficulties, however, required the organized action of millions.

**shihada*: martyrdom. *Jahiliya*: the godless. Period of darkness prior to Islam. (Translator's note).

Our message is dedicated to the memory of our comrades who have fallen in the name of Islam.

Sarajevo, 1970
Jumadi-l-awwal, 1390

Do we want the Muslim peoples to break out of the circle of dependence, backwardness and poverty?

Do we want them to step out confidently once more on the road to dignity and enlightenment, to become the masters of their own destiny?

Do we want burning courage, genius and virtue to burst forth again in all their force?

Then we can clearly show the way which leads to this goal:

The generating of Islam in all areas of personal individual life, in the family and society, through the renewal of Islamic religious thought and the creation of a united Islamic community from Morocco to Indonesia.

This goal may seem remote and improbable, but it is nonetheless realistic, because it is the only one located within the bounds of possibility. In contrast, every non-Islamic programme may seem to be close and within range of its target, but for the Islamic world this is pure utopia, because these programmes lie in the realm of the impossible.

History demonstrates one fact clearly: Islam is the single idea which has been able to excite the imagination of the Muslim peoples and to instil in them the necessary measure of

discipline, inspiration and energy. No other ideal, foreign to Islam, has ever managed to hold sway in any meaningful way either in the culture or at state level. In fact, all that is great or noteworthy in the history of the Muslim peoples has been done under the banner of Islam. A few thousand tried warriors of Islam forced Britain to withdraw from Suez in the 1950s, while the combined armies of the Arab nationalist regimes are now for the third time losing the battle against Israel. Turkey as an Islamic country ruled the world. Turkey as a plagiary of Europe is now a thirdrate country, like a hundred others throughout the world.

Just like an individual, a people that has accepted Islam is thereafter incapable of living and dying for any other ideal. It is unthinkable that a Muslim should sacrifice himself for any king or ruler, no matter who he might be, or for the glory of any nation or party, because the strongest Islamic instinct recognizes in this a kind of paganism and idolatry. A Muslim can die only in the name of Allah and for the glory of Islam, or flee the battlefield.

Periods of passivity and stagnation in fact mean the absence of an Islamic alternative or unreadiness on the part of the Muslim population to take the uphill path. They are the negative expression of the spiritual monopoly which Islam holds over the Islamic world.

While accepting this situation as an expression of the Will of God, we positively state that the Islamic world cannot be renewed without Islam or against it, Islam and its deep-rooted

precepts on man's place in the world, the purpose of human life, the relationship between God and man and between man and man. remains a lasting and irreplaceable ethical, philosophical, ideological and political foundation for every authentic action taken towards renewal and improvement of the state of the Muslim peoples.

The alternative is stark: either a move towards Islamic renewal, or passivity and stagnation. For the Muslim peoples, there is no third possibility.

I

THE BACKWARDNESS OF THE
MUSLIM PEOPLES

CONSERVATIVES AND MODERNISTS

The idea of Islamic renewal, which understands Islam as capable not only of educating human beings but also of ordering the world, will always have two types of people as its opponents: conservatives who want the old forms, and modernists who want someone else's forms. The former drag Islam back into the past, the latter push it towards an alien future.

Despite differences, both categories of people have something in common: both see Islam only as a religion, in the European sense of the word. A certain lack of feeling for the finesses of language and logic, and an even greater failure to grasp the essence of Islam and its role in history and the world, lead them to interpret Islamic belief as religion, which for a very special reason is quite erroneous.

Although it may seem a reconfirmation of the fundamental truths on the origin of man and his mission, the Islamic approach is quite new in one aspect - that of its demand for the conjunction of faith and knowledge, morals and politics, ideals and interests. By recognizing the existence of two worlds, the natural and the interior, Islam teaches that it is man who bridges the chasm between them. Without this oneness, religion tends towards backwardness (the rejection of any kind of productive

closed to knowledge and ever more open to mysticism, theologists have allowed much that is irrational to be written in this book, things totally foreign to Islamic learning, including sheer superstition. It will be immediately evident to anyone who knows the nature of theology why it has been unable to withstand the temptation of mythology, and why it has seen even in this a certain enrichment of religious thought. The monotheism of the Qu'ran, the purest and most perfect in the history of religious learning, has been gradually compromised, while in practice a distasteful trade in belief has emerged. Those who call themselves interpreters and guardians of the faith have made a career of it - a very agreeable and profitable one - and without many qualms of conscience have come to accept a state of affairs in which its messages have not been implemented at all.

Theologians have turned out to be the wrong people in the wrong place. Now, when the Muslim world is giving all signs of an awakening, this class has become the expression of all that is gloomy and sclerotic in that world. It has shown itself to be quite incapable of taking any kind of constructive step towards making the Islamic world face up to the adversities which press upon it.

As far as the so-called progressives, westerners, modernists and whatever else they are called are concerned, they are the exemplification of real misfortune throughout the Muslim world, as they are quite numerous and influential, notably in government, education and public life. Seeing the *hajjs* and conservatives

conservatives as the personification of Islam, and convincing others to do likewise, the modernists raise a front against all that the idea represents. These self-styled reformers in the present-day Muslim countries may be recognized by their pride in what they should rather be ashamed of, and their shame in what they should be proud of. These are usually "daddy's sons", schooled in Europe, from which they return with a deep sense of their own inferiority towards the wealthy West and a personal superiority over the poverty-stricken and backward surroundings from which they spring. Lacking an Islamic upbringing and or any spiritual or moral links with the people, they quickly lose their elementary criteria and imagine that by destroying local ideas, customs and convictions, while introducing alien ones, they will build America - for which they have an exaggerated admiration - overnight on their home soil. Instead of standards, they introduce the cult of a standard; instead of developing the potential of their own world, they develop desires, thus opening the way to corruption, primitivism and moral chaos. They cannot see that the power of the Western world does not lie in how it lives, but in how it works; that its strength is not in fashion, godlessness, night clubs, a younger generation out of control, but in the extraordinary diligence, persistence, knowledge and responsibility of its people.

The main problem, therefore, is not that our westerners used alien forms, but that they did not know how to use them, or - to put it better - that they did not have a sufficiently developed

sense of what was right. They failed to choose the useful product and took over instead the harmful, suffocating byproduct of another civilization.

Among the props of doubtful value which our westerner takes home with him are to be found various "revolutionary" ideas, reform programmes and similar "rescue doctrines" which will "solve all problems". Among these "reforms" are examples of unbelievable shortsightedness and improvization.

Thus, for example, Mustafa Kemal Attaturk, who was obviously a greater military leader than a cultural reformer and whose services to Turkey should be reduced to their proper measure, in one of his reforms prohibited the wearing of the fez. It soon became evident that changing the shape of their caps cannot change what is in people's heads or habits.

Many nations outside the Western sphere have been facing the problem of how to relate to this civilization for over a century: whether to opt for outright rejection, cautious adjustment or total unselective acceptance. The tragedy or triumph of many of them has hung on how they have responded to this fateful question.

There are reforms which reflect the wisdom of a particular nation and others which signify betrayal of itself. The examples of Japan and Turkey are classics of modern history in this respect.

In the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, both countries provided a picture of very similar "comparable" countries. Both were ancient empires, each with its own

physiognomy and place in history. Both found themselves at approximately the same level of development; both had a glorious past, which indicated both great privilege and a heavy burden. In a word, their chances for the future were about equal.

Then followed the well-known reforms in both countries. In order to continue to live in its own way and not in another, Japan tried to unite tradition and progress. Turkey's modernists chose the opposite path. Today, Turkey is a third-rate country, while Japan has climbed to a pinnacle among the nations of the world.

The difference in the philosophy of Japanese and Turkish reformers is nowhere more evident than in the question of the alphabet.

While Turkey abolished Arabic writing, which because of its simplicity and just twenty-eight characters is one of the most perfect and widespread of alphabets, Japan rejected demands by its *Romaya* to introduce the Roman script. It retained its complicated system which subsequent to the reforms, contained 880 Chinese ideograms in addition to 46 characters. No one is illiterate in modern-day Japan, while in Turkey - forty years after the introduction of Roman letters - over half the population cannot read or write, a result which should cause the blind to regain their sight.

And that is not all. It soon became evident that what was the issue was not simply the alphabet as a means of register. The true reasons, and thus the consequences, were much deeper and more significant. The essence of all human civilization and progress

lies in continuation, not in destruction and negation. Its way of writing is the way in which the nation "remembers" and endures in history. By abolishing the Arabic alphabet, all the wealth of the past, preserved in the written word, was largely lost to Turkey, and by this single act the country was levelled to the brink of barbarianism. With a series of other "parallel" reforms, the new Turkish generation found itself with no spiritual prop, in a kind of spiritual vacuum. Turkey had lost the remembrance of its past. Whom did this profit?

The supporters of modernism in the Islamic world, then, were not wise men who sprang from the people, who would know how to implement in a novel way the old ideals and values under changed circumstances. They rose up against the values themselves and often with icy cynicism and astounding shortsightedness, trampled on what the people held sacred, destroying life and transplanting an imitation in its stead. As a consequence of such barbarity in Turkey and elsewhere, plagiary nations emerged, or are in process of emerging: countries where spiritual confusion reigns, featureless and with no sense of where they are going. Everything in them is derivative and artificial, lacking in force and enthusiasm, like the false glamour of their Europeanized cities.

Can a country unsure of its identity, of where its roots lie, have a clear picture of where it is bound or what it should be striving for?

The example of some of Attaturk's reforms may seem drastic. At the same time, they represent a pattern for the western

approach to problems of the Islamic world and the way in which westerners think to "correct" it. This invariably means alienation, fleeing from real problems, from painstaking work on the true moral and educational elevation of the people, an orientation towards the external and the superficial.

What was meant by the independence of a Muslim country in which the administration of public life fell into the hands of this type of person? How did they make use of that freedom?

By accepting foreign modes of thought and by seeking political support from foreigners, whether East or West, each of these countries voluntarily, through the mouths of their new administrators, acquiesced to re-enslavement. A spiritual and material independence was created, embracing an alien philosophy, an alien way of life, alien aid, alien capital and alien support. These countries formally achieved independence, but they did not achieve real freedom, since freedom of any kind is primarily spiritual. The independence of a people which has not first won this is soon reduced to an anthem and a flag, two very minor factors for true independence.

The struggle for true independence of the Muslim peoples, then, must begin anew everywhere.

THE ROOTS OF HELPLESSNESS

These two types - conservatives and modernists - provide the key to understanding the current state of the Muslim peoples.

However, they are not the only cause of this state. Taken further, both facets are the manifestation of a deeper cause: the degradation or rejection of Islamic thought.

The history of Islam is not only, or even mainly, the history of a progressive affirmation of Islam in real life. It is just as much a story of incomprehension, neglect, betrayal and abuse of this idea. Thus the history of each and every Muslim people is simultaneously a chronology of brilliant achievements and victories, of grievous mistakes and defeat. All our successes and failures, political and moral, are only the reflection of our acceptance of Islam and how we have applied it to life. A weakening in the influence of Islam on the practical life of the people has always been accompanied by their degradation and that of social and political institutions.

The entire history of Islam, from its first beginnings to our day, unfolded under the inexorable influence of this coincidence. Something of the unalterable fate of the Muslim peoples and one of the laws of Islamic history is to be found in this parallel.

Two characteristic moments in Islamic history - one from the age of its ascendancy, one from the age of decadence - very clearly illustrate this effect.

Muhammad (peace be upon him) died in 632 A.D. Less than a hundred years later, the spiritual and political power of Islam extended over a huge area, from the Atlantic Ocean to the river Indus and to China, from Lake Aral to the lower reaches of the Nile. Syria was conquered in 634, Damascus fell in 635, Ctesiphon

in 637, India and Egypt were reached in 641, Carthage in 647, Samarkand in 676, Spain in 710. Muslims were at the gates of Constantinople in 717, and in 720 in southern France. There were mosques in Shantung by 700 and about 830, Islam arrived in Java.

This unique expansion, to which no other can be compared before or since, provided a space for the development of Islamic civilization in three spheres of culture: Spain, the Middle East and India, a period of history covering about one thousand years.

What do Muslims mean in the contemporary world?

The question could be phrased another way: how far are we Muslim?

The answers to these questions are linked.

We are enslaved: at one point in 1919, no single independent Muslim country existed, a state of affairs never registered either before or after that date.

We are uneducated: in the period between two world wars, no Muslim country had a literacy rate of over 50 per cent. At independence, 75 per cent of the people of Pakistan, 80 per cent of Algerians and 90 per cent of Nigerians could neither read nor write. (In contrast, no one in Islamic Spain of the tenth and eleventh centuries, according to Draper, was illiterate.)

We are poor: gross national income per capita in 1966 in Iran was 220 dollars, in Turkey 240, in Malasia 250, in Pakistan 90, in Afghanistan 85, in Indonesia 70, as against 3000 in the USA. The share of industry in the national income of most Muslim countries varies between 10 and 20 per cent. The number of calories in the

daily diet is an average 2000, compared to 3000-3500 in Western Europe.

We are a divided community: instead of a society without either misery or luxury, Muslim society has turned into the opposite. In contradiction to the Qu'ranic command "...that this wealth should not remain within the circle of the rich among you" (Qu'ran 39/7), property gradually passed into the hands of a small number. Prior to agrarian reform in Iraq in 1958, out of 22 million *dunum** of arable land, about 18 million *dunum* (82 per cent) were held by the great landowners. Meanwhile, 1.4 million peasants had no land at all.

This was the state of affairs which some have called with reason "the night of Islam". In fact, that night began with the twilight of our hearts. All that has happened to us or is happening to us today, is only the echo and repetition of what has previously happened within ourselves (Qu'ran, 13/12).

We as Muslims cannot be subjugated, uneducated, estranged from one another. We cannot be renegades from Islam. All our defeats, from the first at Uhud to the latest on Sinai, confirm this.

The phenomenon of the abandonment of Islam, most frequently seen in the suppression of Islamic thought from active and vigilant life and its reduction to transience and passivity, can be most clearly observed by taking the Qu'ran, the central truth of Islamic ideology and practice.

**dunum*: about one-tenth of a hectare (*translator's note*)

It should be remarked that every advance of the Islamic peoples, every age of refinement, began with the affirmation of the Qu'ran. The expansion of early Islam, whose miraculous course I have already mentioned and which in the course of two generations brought it to the shores of the Atlantic Ocean in the West and to the outer reaches of China in the East, is not the only, but is the most glorious example. All major swings in the course of Islamic history confirm this parallel.

What was the position of the Qu'ran at the time preceding the age of stagnation and retreat?

Devotion to the Book did not cease, but it lost its active character while retaining what was irrational and mystic. The Qu'ran lost its authority as law while gaining in sanctity as an object. In study and interpretation, wisdom yielded to hair-splitting, essence to form and grandeur of thought to the skill of recitation. Under the constant influence of theological formalism, the Qu'ran was read less and "learned" (recited) more, while commandments on struggle, uprightness, personal and material sacrifice - harsh and repellant to our inertia - dissolved and vanished in the pleasant sound of the Qu'ranic text learnt off by heart. This unnatural state of affairs came to be accepted as the norm, because it suited an ever more numerous group of Muslims who could neither break with the Qu'ran nor summon the strength to order their lives according to its dictates.

The psychological explanation of the exaggerated importance given to recital of the Qu'ran may be found in this fact. The Qu'ran is recited, interpreted and recited, then studied and

recited again. One sentence is repeated thousands of times in order not to have to apply it once. An extensive and pedantic science has been established on how the Qu'ran should be pronounced so as to avoid the issue of how to practice it in daily life. Ultimately, the Qu'ran has been turned into naked sound without visible sense or meaning.

All the reality of the Muslim world, with its discrepancy between word and deed; its debauchery, dirt, injustice and cowardice; its monumental, empty mosques; its great white turbans, devoid of ideals or courage; its hypocritical Islamic catchphrases and religious posing: this faith without belief is but the external reflection of the fundamental contradiction in which the Qu'ran found itself, in which burning allegiance to the Book was gradually combined with total neglect of its principles in practice.

The situation of the Qu'ran is the first and most important cause of backwardness and helplessness among the Muslim peoples. Another cause of universal importance is education, or rather the system of upbringing in the broadest sense.

For centuries now our peoples have been deprived of educated people. Instead, they have two other types, equally undesirable: the uneducated and the wrongly educated. In no Muslim country do we have a system of education sufficiently developed and thus capable of responding to the moral understanding of Islam and the needs of the people. Our rulers either neglected this most sensitive institution of any society, or left it up to strangers.

The schools to which foreigners donated money and personnel, and thereby curricula and ideology, did not educate Muslims, not even nationalists. In them, our budding intellectuals were injected with the "virtues" of obedience, submission and admiration for the might and wealth of the foreigner; in them foreign tutors fostered a vassal mentality in the intelligentsia, which would in the future replace them with extraordinary success, because the latter would feel themselves to be foreigners in their own country and behave accordingly. It would be most informative to discover the number of schools and colleges which are held, directly or indirectly, by foreigners, and to reflect on the reasons for this extraordinary generosity. The curricula of these institutions should be gone into in depth and examined for content, perhaps even more so for what they fail to contain. It would soon be clear that the real question is not whether our intelligentsia wishes to find a path to its people, to their real inclinations and interests, but whether, constituted as it is, it can find that path at all. What is at stake are the values and ideals which have been imposed on it, and the psychological gap which has been created. Iron chains are no longer necessary to keep our peoples in submission. The silken cords of this alien "education" have the same power, paralyzing the minds and will of the educated. While education is so conceived, foreign wielders of power and their vassals in Muslim countries need have no fear for their positions. Instead of being a source of rebellion and resistance, this system of education is their best ally.

this system of education is their best ally.

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The tragic gap between the intelligentsia and the people, which is one of the darkest features of our overall position, is re-entrenched from the other side. Sensing the alien and non-Islamic character of the schools on offer, the people instinctively reject them, so that the estrangement becomes mutual. Absurd accusations are constructed as to the disinclination of Muslim environments towards school and education. In fact, it is clear that this is not a question of rejecting schools as such, but of rejecting alien schools, which have lost every spiritual link with Islam and the people.

INDIFFERENCE OF THE MUSLIM MASSES

The about-turn effected by modernists in a series of Muslim countries was, almost as a rule, anti-religious and led by slogans on the de-clericalization of political and social life. From this aspect it is reminiscent of the struggle between the awakening national states and the church in Europe on the threshold of the Modern Age. But what meant progress and constitutionality for the West, represented an unnatural process in the Islamic world, one which was incapable of effecting constructive change. Declericalization and nationalism had no positive aspects here, and were in fact merely a negation. Foreign in origin and matter, they were the reflection of a pervasive spiritual sterility. With them, the curtain rose on the last act in the drama of the Muslim world. From the situation which ensued, this act could be called: "a dual

Every renaissance occurs as the result of creative contact, affinity or internal concord between the thinking and leading elements in a society on the one hand, and the populace at large on the other. The leading group represents will and thought, the people the heart and blood of any great undertaking. Without the cooperation or at least consent of the ordinary man, all action remains superficial, lacking in strike force. The sluggishness of the masses can be overcome if it is merely the consequence of a natural resistance to hard work, danger and struggle. It is impossible to overcome if it represents a rejection of the very ideals of the struggle, because it perceives that ideal as opposed to the most intimate wishes and feelings of the masses.

It is the latter case which may be observed, to a greater or lesser extent, in all Muslim countries where modernists attempt to implement their programmes. They flatter and threaten, plead and goad, organize and reorganize, change names and personalities, but run up against the stubborn rejection and indifference of ordinary people, who make up the majority of the nation. Habib Bourgiba - mentioned here simply as being representative of a widespread tendency - wears European clothes, speaks French at home, isolates Tunisia not only from the Islamic but also from the Arab world, restricts religious training, calls for the abolition of the Ramadan fast "as fasting reduces productivity", while he himself drinks orange juice in public in order to set a suitable example. After all this, he wonders at the passivity and lack of support on the part of the Tunisian masses for his "learned" reforms.

Modernists would not be what they are if they did not demonstrate this type of blindness.

The Muslim peoples will never accept anything which is expressly opposed to Islam, because Islam is not just a collection of ideas and laws but has transcended into love and feeling. He who rises up against Islam will reap nothing but hatred and resistance.

By their acts, modernists have created a state of internal conflict and confusion in which any programme - Islamic or foreign - becomes impracticable. The masses want Islamic action, but cannot carry it through without the intelligentsia. An alienated intelligentsia imposes a programme, but cannot find enough people prepared to contribute blood, sweat and enthusiasm for this paper ideal. The opposing forces cancel each other out and a stage of powerlessness and paralysis sets in.

There is an order, a dynamic, a prosperity, a progress which could be brought about on this ground and in this part of the world, but this is not the order, progress or prosperity of Europe or America. The indifference of the Muslim masses is not indifference at all. It is the way in which folk-Islam defends itself against outside, alien assault. Wherever there was the least prospect of an Islamic struggle, the ordinary man proved his readiness to fight, suffer and die. This was the example given by Turkey in the liberation struggle against Greece, following defeat in World War I, the heroic resistance in Libya against Italian occupation, and the recent examples of struggle against the

British in Suez, the war for the liberation of Algeria, for the retention of Indonesia and for Islamic influence in Pakistan. Wherever the masses had to be aroused, Islamic slogans were used, however temporarily and insincerely. Where there is Islam, there is no indifference.

The manifest feelings of the Muslim masses need an idea which would move and direct them, but this cannot be just any idea. It must be one which corresponds to their deepest feelings. It can only, therefore, be an Islamic idea.

There is no chance that the Muslim masses and their present intellectual and political leadership could agree on someone among them renouncing his ideal, regardless of how long this state of expectation and indecision may last. There is only one possible way out: the formation and grouping of a new intelligentsia which thinks and feels Islam. This intelligentsia would then fly the flag of the Islamic order and, together with the Muslim masses, take action to bring it about.

II

THE ISLAMIC ORDER

RELIGION AND THE LAW

The Islamic order: what does this mean, translated into the language thought, spoken and felt by our generation?

The briefest definition of the Islamic order defines it as a unity of religion and law, upbringing and power, ideal and interest, the spiritual community and the state, willingness and force.

As a synthesis of these components, the Islamic order posits two fundamental assumptions: an Islamic society and Islamic governance. The first is the matter and the second the form of the Islamic order. An Islamic society without an Islamic authority is incomplete and without power; Islamic governance without an Islamic society is either utopia or violence.

Generally speaking, a Muslim does not exist as a sole individual. If he wishes to live and survive as a Muslim, he must create an environment, a community, a system. He must change the world or himself submit to change. History has no instance of any truly Islamic movement which was not at the same time a political movement. This is because Islam is a religion, but it is at the same time a philosophy, a moral system, an order, a style, an atmosphere - in a word, an integrated way of life. One cannot believe in Islam and act, do business, enjoy one's leisure or rule

in a non-Islamic way. This state of discordance creates hypocrisy (praising God in the mosque, betraying Him outside it), or unhappy people full of conflict (unable either to break with the Qu'ran or to find the strength to fight and change the circumstances in which they live), or a monk-like, eccentric type of individual (who withdraws from the world because the world is not Islamic), or, ultimately, those who in their dilemma break with Islam and accept life and the world as find them, or rather, as others have made them.

The Islamic order is a society freed of this conflict, a framework of relations in which the Muslim finds himself in complete harmony with his surroundings.

To the question: what is a Muslim society? we would say it is a community composed of Muslims, and we think that this says it all, or almost all.

The meaning of this definition is that there is no system of institutions, relationships and laws disparate from the people who are its object of which it could be said: this is an Islamic system. No system is Islamic or non-Islamic of itself. It is only so because of the people who compose it.

A European believes that society is ordered by the rule of laws. Since Plato's "Republic", and the various utopian idea which followed up to the most recent - Marxism - the European spirit has been searching for one scheme, one pattern, which, by simply altering the relationships between people or groups, would give birth to the ideal society.

In the Qu'ran, on the other hand, there are relatively few real laws, and much more religion, and requirement for practical action in keeping with this religion.

A multiplicity of laws and a complex legislature is usually a sure sign that something is rotten in a society and that it should stop passing laws and start educating people. When the rottenness of the environment surpasses a certain point, the law becomes impotent. It then falls either into the hands of corrupt executors of justice, or becomes the subject of open or concealed trickery on the part of a corrupt environment.

Wine, gambling and sorcery - once widespread and deeply rooted vices throughout the entire Middle East - were eliminated for a lengthy period from an enormous region by a single Ayet of the Qu'ran, and by a single explanation: God had forbidden them. As soon as religion weakened, intoxication and superstition returned with unabated vigour, to which the incomparably higher level of culture by now obtaining offered no obstacle. America's Prohibition Law, proclaimed in the name of contemporary science and implemented with all the force of one of the most highly organized communities in the world, eventually had to be abandoned in the 'forties, after thirteen years of futile attempts, full of violence and crime. An attempt to introduce prohibition into Scandinavian countries ended in similar failure.

This and many similar examples clearly demonstrate that a society can be improved only in the name of God and by educating man. We should take the one road which surely leads to this

objective.

While in principle confirming the spiritual, interior approach in all of its manifestations, Islam, however, did not content itself with that. It endeavoured to tear the devil's weapon out of his hands. If, in what concerns man's relationship with the world, Islam did not start with man, it would not be a religion; if it were to remain at that, it would be simply a religion, merely repeating Jesus's teaching on the ideal and eternal aspect of man's being. Through Muhammad, (peace be upon him) and the Qu'ran, Islam addressed the real man, the outside world, nature, in order to evolve as a teaching on the complete man and on all aspects of life. Faith allied itself to the law, education and upbringing to power. Thus Islam became an order.

ISLAM IS NOT JUST A RELIGION

In this particular, which marks an indisputable turning point in the evolution of religious teaching, Islam differs from all other religions, doctrines and philosophies. It provides a new point of observation and a special approach, reflecting its entirely original philosophy. The lynchpin of this philosophy is the requirement that man must simultaneously live an interior and exterior, moral and social, spiritual and physical life, or more precisely, that he must willingly and in full awareness accept both these aspects of life as the human definition and meaning of his life on earth (Qu'ran 28/77). Translating this requirement into the language of everyday life, we could say: he who believes

that life should be ordered not only by faith and prayer, but by work and knowledge, whose vision of the world not only allows but demands that temple and factory stand side by side, who considers that people should not only be fed and educated, but that their life on earth should be facilitated and promoted, and that there is no reason to sacrifice either of these objectives to the other - this man belongs to Islam.

This, together with faith in God, is the main message of the Qu'ran, and in it is all of Islam. All else is mere development and explanation. This aspect of Islam, besides containing the principle of the Islamic order, the conjunction of religion and politics, leads to other significant conclusions of enormous fundamental and practical importance.

First and foremost of these conclusions is certainly the incompatibility of Islam with non-Islamic systems. There can be neither peace nor coexistence between the Islamic religion and non-Islamic social and political institutions. The failure of these institutions to function and the instability of the regimes in Muslim countries, manifest in frequent change and *coups d'etat*, is most often the consequence of their *a priori* opposition to Islam, as the fundamental and foremost feeling of the peoples in these countries. By claiming the right to order its own world itself, Islam obviously excludes the right or possibility of action on the part of any foreign ideology on that terrain. There is, therefore, no lay principle, and the state should both reflect and support religious moral concepts.

Every age and every generation has the task of implementing the message of Islam in new forms and by new means.

There are immutable Islamic principles which order relations between people, but there is no Islamic economic, social or political structure which cannot be changed.

This is only the first and most important conclusion in approaching Islam as an integrated order. The remaining three, equally important but less preclusive, are:

First: by opting for this world, Islam has opted for the best possible ordering of that world. Nothing which can make the world a better place may be rejected out of hand as non-Islamic;

Second: to be open to nature means to be open to learning. In order to be Islamic, any solution must fulfil two conditions: it must be maximally efficient and maximally humane. It must therefore reflect the reconciliation of religion and science in its highest form;

Third: by pointing to one link between religion and learning, morals and policy, the individual and the collective, the spiritual and the material - questions which divide the contemporary world - Islam regains its role as the intermediary of ideas, and the Islamic world as intermediary among nations in a divided world. By promising "religion without mysticism and learning without atheism", Islam can interest all people, no matter who they are.

THE ISLAMIC ORDER IN OUR DAY - ARGUMENTS

There are immutable Islamic principles which define the relationship between man and man, and between man and the community. But there are no fixed Islamic economic, social or political structures which have been handed down once and for all. Islamic sources contain no description of such a system. The way in which Muslims will carry on an economy, organize society and rule in the future will therefore differ from the way in which they carried on an economy, organized society or ruled in the past. Every age and each generation has the task of finding new ways and means of implementing the basic messages of Islam, which are unchanging and eternal, in a world which is not eternal and subject to constant change.

Our generation must accept that risk and make the attempt.

Aware of the inevitable imperfection of definitions of this kind, and restricting ourselves to principles which at this moment seem to be of greater importance, I present them here in the following order:

1.

(MAN AND THE COMMUNITY)

Islamic society is an organized community of believers. There is no purely scientific, revolutionary, socialist or other solely external salvation for man and society. Any salvation which does not imply a turning towards the interior life, the reshaping of man, his spiritual rebirth - impossible without God - is fallacious.

An Islamic society cannot be founded simply on social or economic interest, nor on any other external, technical basis. As a community of believers, its nucleus contains a religious and emotional factor of belonging. This element may be most clearly seen in the *Jam'aa*,* as the fundament of Islamic society.

In contrast to a society, as an abstract community with external relationships among its members, the *Jama'a* is an internal, tangible community, founded on spiritual membership, where contact between people is maintained by direct, personal acquaintance. This is man to man, not an anonymous member of society towards another equally anonymous member of the same society. As a means of recognition among people and of bringing them closer together, the *Jama'a* contributes to the solidarity and internal harmony of society, while helping to free the spirit of the loneliness and alienation resulting from technology and growing urbanization.

Besides this, the *Jama'a* creates a kind of public opinion which acts without the use of force, but nonetheless efficiently, against potential violators of social and moral norms. In the *Jama'a*, no one is alone, and this is so in a double sense: he is not alone to do whatever he likes, nor is he alone, left to himself to find his own moral and material support. If one Muslim does not feel the closeness of others, that Muslim society has failed.

**Jama'a*: Muslims, the Muslim society (translator's note)

Islam wants man to offer his hand to man, naturally and sincerely. Until this is accomplished, nothing has really been achieved. Islam does not agree to the perpetuation of a situation in which the state must intervene by force to defend people from one another. This is a situation which Islam may accept only conditionally and temporarily. Force and the law are only the tools of justice. Justice itself is to be found in the human heart, or it does not exist.

2.

(EQUALITY OF PEOPLE)

Two facts of major importance - the oneness of the Deity and the equality of man - have been laid down so clearly and explicitly by the Qu'ran, that they allow of only a single, literal interpretation: there is no god but the One God; there is no chosen people, race, or class - all people are equal.

Islam cannot accept the division and grouping of people according to external, objective measures such as class. As a religious and moral movement, it finds unacceptable any differentiation between people which does not include moral criteria. People must be distinguished - if they are indeed different - primarily by what they really are, which means by their spiritual and ethical value (Qu'ran, Surah 49/13). All just people, regardless of how they earn their bread by day, belong to the same community, just as blackguards and wrongdoers of all kinds belong to the same "class", regardless of their political affinities or place in the work process.

Class distinction is equally unjust, morally and humanly unacceptable, as national and other division and differentiation among people.

3.

(THE BROTHERHOOD OF MUSLIMS)

"Muslims are brethren" (Qu'ran, 49/10). In this message, the Qu'ran points to the goal, which because of its distance, provides a source of inspiration for a constant surge forwards. Enormous changes must take place within people and without, in order to reduce the distance on the road to the brotherhood so proclaimed.

In this principle, we see both the authorization and obligation of the Islamic community to establish appropriate institutions and undertake specific measures, so that the relationship between Muslims and real life may assimilate an increasing number of the elements and features of brotherhood. The number and kind of measures, initiatives and laws, which a truly Islamic administration could introduce by referring to the principle of brotherhood of all Muslims, is practically unlimited.

I would mention here great differences in social standing, in property, with feudalism as the most drastic case. The relationship between the vassal and his feudal overlord is not a brotherly relationship, but one of subjugation and dependence. As such, it is in direct contradiction to the Qu'ran and this principle.

4.

(UNITY OF MUSLIMS)

Islam contains the principle of the *umma*, i.e. a tendency towards the unification of all Muslims in a single community - religious, cultural and political. Islam is not nationality, but it is the supranationality of this community.

All that divides people in this community, whether related to ideas (sects, *mazhab*, political parties etc.), or material (great differences in wealth, social standing etc.), is opposed to this principle of unity and as such must be restricted and eliminated.

Islam is the first, and pan-Islamism the second point which defines the boundary line between Islamic and non-Islamic tendencies in the Muslim world today. The more Islam orders a community's internal, and pan-Islamism its external relations, the more that community is Islamic. Islam is its ideology, and pan-Islamism its policy.

5.

(PROPERTY)

Although Islam recognizes private property, the new Islamic society will have to unequivocally declare that all major sources of social wealth, particularly natural resources, must be the property of the community and serve the welfare of all its members. Social supervision of sources of wealth is essential in order on the one hand to prevent the accumulation of unmerited wealth and individual power, and on the other to ensure a material

base for development programmes in various areas, which the community will undertake in keeping with the increasingly greater part played by an organized society. Although differently disposed and implemented, the participation of society in solving an ever greater number of common tasks is equally great in the USA, the Soviet Union or Sweden, which shows that this is not a question of ideological or political approach, but a necessity which springs from the life of human communities in the contemporary world.

Private property is subject to yet another restriction based on an explicit command of the Qu'ran - the need to use it for the common good (Qu'ran. 49/34). Islam, therefore, does not recognize private property as understood by Roman Law. In contrast, private property in Sharia Law has one privilege less (*ius abutendi* - the right to abuse) and one obligation more (that of using wealth for the common good). The practical consequences of this difference for a truly Islamic government are far-reaching. Based on this and the dictate of the Qu'ran cited above, all legal and practical measures may be taken against abuse or failure to use private property. The elimination of injustice, inequality and particularly luxury and extravagance in the midst of misery, as something which devastates the community and separates people, will become at one point the criterion for the survival of the Islamic order and a gauge of the real values of the ethical and social standpoints it represents.

6.

(ZEKAT* AND INTEREST)

Of all socially-charged Islamic regulations, one commandment and one prohibition are specially significant: the commandment of Zekat and the prohibition on charging interest.

The Zekat evidences the established principle of mutual responsibility and concern people evince for the fate of another. Once proclaimed, this principle can become the basis for new and various forms of solicitude in keeping with society's rate of development, its needs and contingencies.

In the Muslim world today, the Zekat is the private affair of each individual. In the present social and religious climate, it has ceased to function. Its absence is evident at every turn. In the Islamic order, the Zekat is an institution of public law, whose functioning must be guaranteed by all available means, including the use of force.

By forbidding the charging of interest (Qu'ran, 278/279), an invariable norm of the Islamic order was established, involving the banning of any income from annuities and of parasitic lifestyles, i.e. the achievement of wealth purely on the basis of land as contradictory to the moral basis on which the Islamic public order rests.

*Zekat: poor-rate (translator's note)

7.

(THE REPUBLICAN PRINCIPLE)

Apart from affairs of property, Islam does not recognize any principle of inheritance, nor any power with absolute prerogative. To recognize the absolute power of Allah means an absolute denial of any other almighty power (Qu'ran, 7/3, 12/40). "Any submission of a creature which includes a lack of submission to the Creator is forbidden" (Muhammad, peace be upon him). In the history of the first, and perhaps so far the only authentic Islamic order - at the time of the first four Caliphs - three key aspects of the republican principle of government may be seen: (1) an elective head of state, (2) the responsibility of the head of state towards the people and (3) the obligation of both to work on public affairs and social matters. The latter is explicitly supported by the Qu'ran (3/159, 42/38). The first four rulers in Islamic history were neither kings or emperors. They were chosen by the people. The inherited caliphate was an abandonment of the electoral principle, a clearly defined Islamic political institution.

8.

(THERE IS NO GOD BUT THE ONE GOD)

Insofar as we consider the establishment of an Islamic order an incontrovertible and invincible aim, the more assuredly do we reject the immunity of public personalities, regardless of their

merits or the positions they may occupy. The Islamic order in this sense is a synthesis of absolute authority (related to the programme) and absolute democracy (related to the person).

Islam does not recognize any man as all-seeing, all-knowing, infallible and immortal. Muhammad himself was fallible, and as such was reprimanded (Qu'ran 80/1-12). From this point of view, the Qu'ran as a book is realistic and almost anti-heroic. The adulation accorded to personalities, as frequent these days as in the past, both East and West, is absolutely foreign to Islam as it represents a type of idolatry (Qu'ran, 9/31). The true gauge of each man's value is his personal life and the ratio between what he contributes to the community and what he receives from it. All glory and thanks are due only to God, and the true merit of man can only be judged by Him.

9.

(UPBRINGING)

As religion is the basis of the Islamic society, upbringing is not only one of its functions, but the state of its existence. This is above all a religious and moral upbringing through the family and then through all stages of schooling.

The special task of the Islamic order is to fight for the successful elimination of all forms of anti-upbringing. Islam forbids, and the Islamic order will take specific measures to eliminate:

- all forms of alcoholization of the people
- public and secret prostitution
- pornography of the spoken word, in pictures, on film and television
- casinos, night clubs, dance halls and all other forms of entertainment incompatible with the moral tenets of Islam.

10.

(EDUCATION)

An important part of this type of integrated upbringing is the schooling of the new generation, the instilling of habits of work and training. Along with unity, education is the second most decisive factor for the faster emancipation of the Muslim world from its present inferior position. The Muslim countries do not have sufficient capital. This being so, they should invest what they have in that most profitable of all investments: education.

There can be no true independence without the ability to apply and use the advance of science while continuing to promote it. When it first made an appearance, Islam studied and amassed without prejudice the collective knowledge left behind by earlier civilizations. We do not know why the Islam of our day should behave differently towards the processes of Euro-American civilization with which it shares such a long border.

This is not a question, then, of whether or not we want to accept science and technology - as we shall have to accept them

if we wish to survive - but whether we shall do so creatively or mechanically, with dignity or with inferiority. The question in this inevitable development is rather if we will lose or keep our individuality, our culture and our values.

In the light of these facts, we can with certainty say that education in the present-day Muslim world is the institution most in need of urgent and radical, qualitative and quantitative change. Qualitative - for education to be set free of spiritual, and sometimes material dependence on strangers and that it may begin to serve for the upbringing of Muslims as people and members of the Islamic community. Quantitative - to remove chronic shortages in this respect and in the shortest possible time to create conditions where schooling and training will be within the reach of all young people and all strata of the population. In the initial stages, the mosque can again serve as a school. If our educational programmes do not fail, there is no field in which we can be defeated.

11.

(FREEDOM OF CONSCIENCE)

The upbringing of the people, and particularly means of mass influence - the press, radio, television and film - should be in the hands of people whose Islamic moral and intellectual authority is indisputable. The media should not be allowed - as so often happens - to fall into the hands of perverted and degenerate

people who then transmit the aimlessness and emptiness of their own lives to others. What are we to expect if mosque and TV transmitter aim contradictory messages at the people?

This, however, does not at all mean that a spiritual dictatorship can be created out of the Islamic order, where only the powers-that-be would proclaim truths to a drab, mass-produced younger generation. It only means that there are some elementary standpoints and basic rules of behaviour, which must be respected in all circumstances. Because of the proclaimed principle of freedom of religion (Qu'ran, 2/266), Islam expressly forbids any physical or psychological enforcement in questions of faith and conscience. Furthermore, the principle of *ijma* (consensus) renders this unnecessary. ("My people cannot agree in error" - Muhammad, peace be upon him). However puritanical Islam may be from the moral aspect, its openness to nature and joy makes it free-thinking, as all its history bears witness. As it recognizes God, but no dogma or hierarchy, Islam cannot turn into a dictatorship and any form of inquisition or spiritual terror is thereby done away with.

The Islamic rebirth cannot begin without a religious revolution, but it cannot be successfully continued and completed without a political one.

Our road does not begin by winning power, but people.

12.

(ISLAM AND INDEPENDENCE)

There is no Islamic order without independence and freedom, and vice versa: there is no independence or freedom without Islam. The latter has a double sense: first, independence is real and lasting only as the result of winning spiritual and ideological independence and if it is a sign that a people has found itself, discovered its internal strength, without which the independence it has gained cannot be meaningful or longlasting. In the affirmation of Islamic thought in practical life, each Muslim people experiences this identification with the self, a spiritual emancipation, as a condition of social and political liberation.

Secondly, the real support which a Muslim people gives to the regime in power is in direct proportion to the Islamic character of that power. the further the regime is from Islam, the less support it will receive. Un-Islamic regimes remain almost totally deprived of this support and therefore have to seek it, willy-nilly, from foreigners. The dependence into which they sink is a direct consequence of their non-Islamic orientation.

These facts determine the character of the Islamic order as a democracy, not a democracy in form, but as reality, as a consensus of opinion. This kind of democracy exists only where the government turns ideas and action into what the people feel, where it acts as a direct expression of their will. The establishment of an Islamic order is in fact a supreme act of democracy, because

it means the realization of the deepest inclinations of the Muslim peoples and the ordinary man. One thing is certain: regardless of what some of the wealthy and the intelligentsia may want, the ordinary man wants Islam and life in his own Islamic community. Democracy here does not come from principles and proclamations, but from facts. The Islamic order does not use force simply because there is no need for it. On the other hand, the un-Islamic order, sensing the constant resistance and hostility of the people, finds a solution in having recourse to force. Its transformation into a dictatorship is more or less the rule, an unavoidable evil.

13.

(WORK AND STRUGGLE)

The Islamic society must take upon itself the task of mobilizing both human and natural resources and pass measures which will encourage work and activity. The survival, power or weakness of an Islamic society is subject to the same laws of work and struggle as any other community and enjoys no God-given privileges in this respect (Qu'ran, 5/57).

Two things must be eliminated from the psychology of our public opinion: belief in miracles and expectancy of help from others.

There are no miracles, save those brought about by people, through work and knowledge. There is no *mahdi who will rid us of

*mahdi: religious leader, messiah (translator's note)

our enemies, banish misery and sow enlightenment and prosperity as if by magic. *Mahdi* is the word for our own laziness, or rather for the false hope which grows out of a sense of helplessness in a situation when the magnitude of the difficulties and problems are out of all proportion to the means of fighting them at our disposal.

Relying on the help of others is another form of superstition. We have gained the habit of searching for and finding either unselfish friends or sworn enemies among certain non-Islamic countries, and calling this foreign policy. When we realize that there are neither real friends nor real enemies, when we begin to blame ourselves more and the "cunning plans of our foes" less for our problems, the signs will be that we have begun to mature and that a new age, more free of disappointment and misfortune, is at hand. In any case, even if there were people prepared to give aid without seeking disproportionate political and material favours in return, this would not change our position. Wealth cannot be imported into a country. It must be earned within it on the basis of work and effort. What we wish to accomplish we must do alone. No one can - or wants to - do it for us.

This foundation for this programme of work and activity can be the source of supreme encouragement. The natural wealth and prospects of the Islamic world are enormous. Only one part of it - Indonesia - is the third wealthiest compact territory in the world, after the USA and the USSR. The Islamic world taken as a whole occupies first place in this regard.

By announcing a rebirth, we are not announcing an age of peace and security, but one of unrest and trial. There are too many things crying out to be destroyed. These will not be days of prosperity but of self-respect. A people which is asleep can be awakened only by blows. Whoever wishes our community well will not try to spare it struggle, danger and misfortune. On the contrary, he will do his best to ensure that that community begins to use its own forces, test all the possibilities and take risks as soon as possible - in a word, not to sleep but to live. Only an alert and active community can find itself and its own road.

14.

(WOMAN AND THE FAMILY)

The position of woman in Muslim society must be changed everywhere in keeping with her task as mother and natural educator of the younger generation. An uneducated, neglected and unhappy mother cannot raise sons and daughters capable of instigating and leading the rebirth of the Muslim peoples. Islam must take the initiative of recognizing motherhood as a social function. Harems must be abolished. No one has the right to refer to Islam as a reason to keep women disenfranchised; abuse of this kind must be brought to an end.

Such attitudes do not represent a Western feminism, which has displayed a tendency to impose the measures, whims and mastery of a depraved element among the female sex. Neither is this equality in the European sense. It is an underlining of the equal values

of men and women, together with the underlining of the differences between them, which should be preserved. The principle of equal values is a direct result of the rules on equal religious and moral duties explicitly referred to in several places in the Qu'ran (particularly Ayet 33/55).

Civilization has made of woman either an object for use or one demanding servitude, but it has taken away her individuality, which alone may cause her to be valued and respected. By neglecting motherhood, it has deprived woman of her most basic and irreplaceable function.

In these times, when the family is in serious crisis and its values are being questioned, Islam reaffirms its allegiance to this form of human life. By contributing to the security of the family nest and excluding external and internal factors which destroy it (alcohol, immorality, irresponsibility), Islam protects in a practical way the real interests of the normal, healthy woman. Instead of an abstract equality, it ensures women love, marriage and children, with all that these three things mean to a woman.

Family and marriage law, as formulated in the early centuries of Islam, needs to be re-examined in conformity with present-day requirements and the point reached in the human and social consciousness. The tendency should be to curb polygamy as much as possible so as to eventually eliminate it completely from practical life, while restricting divorce and working towards the more efficient protection of women and children in both cases.

15.

(THE END DOES NOT JUSTIFY THE MEANS)

In the struggle for the Islamic order, all means are permissible except one - crime. No one has the right to defile the good name of Islam or the struggle by the uncontrolled and superfluous use of force. The Islamic community should once more confirm that justice is one of its keystones. The Qu'ran does not command us to love our enemies, but it categorically tells us to be just and to forgive (Qu'ran, 4/135 and 16/126). The use of force must comply with this principle.

Formula: the aim justifies the means has become the cause of numberless crimes. A noble aim cannot command unworthy means; on the other hand, the use of unworthy means may diminish and compromise any aim. As our moral strength increases, the need for force declines; when it comes to taking sides, this is the weapon of the weak. What cannot be accomplished by force may be achieved through generosity, consistency and a courageous bearing (Qu'ran, 16/125, 26/34-35).

16.

(MINORITIES)

The Islamic order can only be established in countries where Muslims represent the majority of the population. If this is not the case, the Islamic order is reduced to mere power (as the other element - an Islamic society - is missing) and may turn to

violence.

The non-Muslim minorities within an Islamic state, on condition they are loyal, enjoy religious freedom and all protection.

Muslim minorities within a non-Islamic community, provided they are guaranteed freedom to practise their religion, to live and develop normally, are loyal and must fulfil all their commitments to that community, except those which harm Islam and Muslims.

The position of Muslim minorities in non-Islamic communities will always in reality depend on the strength of the international Islamic community and the esteem in which it is held.

17.

(RELATIONS WITH OTHER COMMUNITIES)

Relations between the Islamic and other communities throughout the world are based on the principles of: 1. Freedom of religion (Qu'ran 2/256); 2. Strength and a decisive and active defence (Qu'ran, 8/61-62, 42/39-42, 2/190-192); 3. A ban on wars of aggression and crime (Qu'ran, 2/190-192, 42/42); 4. Mutual coop-
eration and acquaintanceship among nations (Qu'ran, 49/13); 5. Respect for obligations and agreements undertaken (Qu'ran, 94) and 6. Mutuality and reciprocity (Qu'ran, 9/8).

III
P R E S E N T - D A Y P R O B L E M S O F T H E
I S L A M I C O R D E R

THE ISLAMIC RENAISSANCE - RELIGIOUS OR POLITICAL REVOLUTION?

The Islamic order is a conjunction of faith with the social and political system. Does the road to it lead via religious renewal or political revolution?

The answer to this question is that Islamic rebirth cannot begin without religious revolution, but it cannot be successfully continued and completed without a political one.

This answer, which defines Islamic renaissance as a twofold revolution - moral and social, but where religious renewal has a clear priority - follows from the principles and nature of Islam, not from the dismal facts characteristic of the Muslim world today.

These facts speak of the seriousness of the moral state of the Muslim world, of depravity, the rule of corruption and superstition, indolence and hypocrisy, the reign of un-Islamic customs and habits, a callous materialism and a disturbing absence of enthusiasm and hope. Can any kind of social or political reformation be directly initiated in circumstances such as these?

Each nation, before being called upon to play its part in history, has had to live through a period of internal purging and the practical acceptance of certain fundamental moral principles. All power in the world starts out as moral firmness. Every defeat

begins as moral failure. All that is desired to be accomplished must first be accomplished in the souls of men.

What does religious renewal mean as a prerequisite for the Islamic order? Above all, it means two things: a new consciousness and new will.

Religious renewal is a clear awareness of the real purpose of life, why we live and for what we should live. Is that purpose a personal or a common standard, the glory and greatness of my race or nation, the affirmation of my own personality or the rule of God's law on earth? In our case, religious renewal means in practice the "Islamization" of people who call themselves Muslims, or whom others usually call by that name. The starting point of this "Islamization" is a firm belief in God and the strict and genuine observance of Islamic religious and moral norms on the part of Muslims.

The other component is a readiness to carry out the imperatives imposed by awareness of the goal. Religious renewal is therefore a quality of moral involvement and enthusiasm, a psychosis of the power of mind over matter, a state of live, practical idealism in which ordinary people become capable of extraordinary feats of courage and sacrifice. It is a new quality of faith and will in which everyday measures of the possible cease to have value and in which the individual and the entire group rise to a high degree of sacrifice for their ideal.

Without this new state of spirit and feeling it is impossible to accomplish any real change in the present-day Muslim world.

When considering these matters, the dilemma inevitably arises - albeit only for a moment - that a shorter way to the Islamic order would be by taking power, which would then create the appropriate institutions and carry out a systematic religious, moral and cultural education of the people, as a prerequisite for building an Islamic society.

This is mere temptation. History does not relate any true revolution which came from power. All began with education and meant in essence a moral summons.

Besides, the formula which confides the establishment of the Islamic order to some power or other does not answer the question as to whence that power came. Who is to set it up and implement it, and of what kind of people will it and its institutions consist? Who will ultimately check the behaviour of that power itself and how can it be prevented from turning monstrous and self-serving instead of serving those in whose name it was instituted?

It is feasible to exchange one group in power for another, and this is an everyday occurrence. The tyranny of the one can be traded for the tyranny of another, the owners of the wealth of this world are interchangeable. It is possible to change the names, flags, anthems and slogans for the sake of which all this is done. But it is not possible by this means to come one step closer to an Islamic order, as a new experience of the world and a different relationship between man and himself, others and the world.

The idea of constantly calling on some power or other for help has its roots in the natural tendency of man to avoid the initial and hardest phase of the *jihad* - the struggle against oneself. It is hard to bring up people, and even harder oneself. By definition, religious renewal means beginning with the self, with one's own life. In contrast, violence and force always have someone else in mind. That is what makes the idea so seductive.

Any movement, therefore, which has the Islamic order as its main objective, must above all be a moral movement. It must arouse people in the moral sense and represent a moral function, which uplifts and makes people better. This is the difference between an Islamic movement and a political party, which may represent a unity of thought and interest, but does not include an ethical standard or involve people morally.

The priority given to religious renewal has, *inter alia*, obvious support in Islamic sources.

First, the Qu'ran says that interior rebirth is a prerequisite of any change or improvement in the state of a people (Qu'ran 13/12).

Second, this rule was confirmed in practice in early Islam and the struggle of Muhammad, peace be upon him, to set up the first Islamic order in history. This is indicated by the fact that the Qu'ran in the first thirteen years discussed and emphasized only questions of belief and responsibility. During this time it did not begin to consider any social or political problem or to formulate any kind of social law founded on Islam.

We expect three more important things from religious renewal:

1. Only religious renewal can create the determination that the provisions of the Qu'rân, particularly those aimed against the more deep-rooted social ills or which are embarrassing for the wielders of power and wealth, must be applied unhesitatingly and uncompromisingly. Religious renewal means that they will be carried out without violence or hatred, as all, or a huge majority of the reborn society, will understand and welcome them as the implementation of God's commandments and in the cause of justice.

2. The Islamic renaissance cannot be imagined without people prepared for enormous personal and material sacrifice, with a high degree of mutual trust and loyal cooperation. What is it that can ensure that effort, self-sacrifice and casualties on one side will not be used in order to bring about the domination and ambition of another? What can prevent a recurrence of the tragedy of moral failure, so frequent in recent Islamic history? Every order, including the Islamic one, will always resemble more closely the people who establish it rather than the principles they proclaim.

3. Because of its colossal backwardness, the Islamic world will have to accept a very fast tempo of education and industrialization. Accelerated development is always accompanied by symptoms such as: despotism, corruption, destruction of the family, the quick and unwarranted attainment of riches, the coming to the forefront of resourceful and unscrupulous individuals, fast urbanization and a breaking with tradition, the vulgarization of social relations, the spread of alcoholism, drugs and

prostitution. The dam against this flood of anti-culture and primitivism can only be constructed from a pure, strong faith in God and the practice of religious commandments by all classes of people. Only religion can ensure that civilization does not destroy the culture. Sheer material and technical progress, as some cases have clearly demonstrated, can veer into an open return to barbarianism.

ISLAMIC GOVERNANCE

Stressing the priority of the religious and moral renewal does not mean - nor can it be interpreted to mean - that the Islamic order can be brought about without Islamic governance. This means only that our way does not start by taking power, but by winning people, and that Islamic rebirth is first a revolution in education, and only then in politics.

We must therefore be first preachers and then soldiers. Our weapons are personal example, the book, the word. When is force to be joined to these?

The choice of this moment is always a tangible one and depends on a series of factors. There is, however, a general rule: the Islamic movement should and can start to take over power as soon as it is morally and numerically strong enough to be able to overturn not only the existing non-Islamic government, but also to build up a new Islamic one. This differentiation is important, because overturning and building do not require an equal degree of psychological and material readiness.

To act prematurely in this regard is just as dangerous as to delay.

To take power due to a fortunate set of circumstances, without sufficient moral and psychological preparation or the essential minimum of staunch and well-trained personnel, means causing another *coup d'etat*, and not an Islamic revolution. (The *coup d'etat* is a continuation of the un-Islamic policy on the part of another group of people or in the name of other principles). To delay in taking power means to deprive the Islamic movement of a powerful means of attaining its aims while offering the un-Islamic authorities the possibility of dealing a blow to the movement and dispersing its personnel. Recent history provides sufficient tragic and instructive examples of the latter.

We shall ignore the "realism" which regulates the Muslim peoples to an inferior position and leaves no room for any hope.

History is not only the story of constant change, but of the uninterrupted actualization of the impossible and the unexpected.

PAKISTAN - AN ISLAMIC REPUBLIC

When speaking of Islamic governance, the example of Pakistan, today the only declared Islamic republic, cannot be omitted.

We applaud Pakistan, regardless of certain failings and difficulties, because it is the outcome of this desire to

establish an Islamic order and because those who conceived and brought it about were clearly led by an Islamic idea.

Pakistan is the dress rehearsal for the introduction of an Islamic order under modern conditions and at present rates of development. Islamic protagonists should learn what should and should not be done from the example of Pakistan.

The negative experience of Pakistan - and negative experiences are always more important - can be summed up in two points:

1. Insufficient unity and structure of the organizing forces who put Iqbal's idea of Pakistan into effect. Soon after the birth of Pakistan, it was obvious that the Muslim League had gathered together a hodgepodge of different elements, without any unified ideas on crucial questions such as the ordering of state and society. From this point of view, the League was hardly more than the average political party. Faced with the great dilemma of Pakistan, it was unable to maintain unity.

2. A formalistic and dogmatic approach to the implementation of Islamic assumptions in practice in Pakistan. Scholars and jurists, instead of turning to the burning question of education, exhausted their energies to the point of division on questions of how rigidly Sharia criminal and marriage law should be applied. While endless discussions were held as to whether a thief should have his hand cut off or simply be sent to prison, an identifiable form of stealing - corruption - became rampant and led to the crisis which shook the foundations of the state of Pakistan.

The lessons from twenty years of Pakistan's existence are

clear:

Firstly, the struggle for an Islamic order and a thorough reconstruction of Muslim society can be led only by tried and true individuals at the head of a resolute and homogeneous organization. This need not be any kind of political party from the arsenals of western democracy, but rather a movement founded on Islamic ideology, requiring unmistakeable moral and ideological criteria from its membership.

Secondly, the struggle for the Islamic order today is for the essentials of Islam, which means ensuring the religious and moral education of the people along with the basic elements of social justice. Form at the present moment is of secondary importance.

Thirdly, the function of the Islamic republic is not primarily to declare equality among men and the brotherhood of all Muslims, but to fight for the implementation of these high-minded principles. Awakened Islam, wherever it may be, should grasp the flag of a juster social order and make it clear that the struggle begins with war on ignorance, injustice and poverty, a war which knows neither compromise nor withdrawal. Should it fail to do so, the flag will be taken by demagogues and false saviours of society, in order to bring about their hypocritical objectives.

These lessons have a bitter taste. We still believe in Pakistan and its mission in the service of international Islam. There is no Muslim heart which will not bound at the mention of something as dear to us as Pakistan, even if this love, like any other, knows fear and trembling. Pakistan is our great hope,

full of trials and temptations.

PANISLAMISM AND NATIONALISM

In one of the arguments for an Islamic order of today, we said that the tendency to gather together all Muslims and Muslim communities in the world was a natural function of the Islamic order. As things stand today, it means a struggle to create a great Islamic federation from Morocco to Indonesia, from tropical Africa to Central Asia.

We know well that mention of this vision annoys a certain type of person in our midst - people who call and consider themselves realists. All the more reason to emphasize this aim loudly and clearly. We prefer to ignore this "realism" which condemns Muslim peoples to a permanently inferior position, leaving no room for endeavour or hope. Its source is in cowardice and respect for the mighty of this world. The masters, it says, should remain masters, and the vassals, vassals. History, as we have said, however, is not only the story of constant change, but of the continuous achievement of the impossible and the unexpected. Almost everything which goes to make up the contemporary world looked impossible fifty years ago.

Obviously there are two kinds of realism: ours and that of the weak and cowardly. We think that there is nothing more natural or real than the requirement that Muslims should unite in various ways in order to solve their common problems and gradually approach the creation of certain supranational structures -

economic, cultural and political - in order to achieve coordination and mutual action in certain important fields. This idea seems unreal to our "realists" (read: weaklings). They sanction the status quo, which to our understanding of realism, is a glaring example of the unnatural and absurd. We find it, for instance, absolutely unacceptable and unreal that in this day and age of concentration and association, one people - Arabs - should be broken up into thirteen units of state; that the Muslim states stand on opposite sides on a number of significant international questions; that Muslim Egypt is unconcerned about the sufferings of Muslims in Ethiopia or Kashmir; that at the height of the confrontation of the Arab countries with Israel, Muslim Persia maintained friendly relations with the aggressor, etc. etc. If anything is unreal, then it is not the unity of Muslims, but its absence - the state of division and discord, in fact, we find today.

There is no historical objective - unless one that is in contradiction to natural or historical facts - which people cannot bring about through joint will and effort. The utopia in which they believe and for which they strive ceases to be utopia. Our weaklings, on the other hand, can neither believe nor work - the explanation for their degrading "realism". When they say that Muslim unity is a dream which will never come true, they are only expressing the helplessness they themselves feel. The impossibility is not in the real world, but in their hearts. The idea of the unification of all Muslims is not someone's invention, nor

the vain wish of any reformer or ideologist. It is embedded in the Qu'ran under the well-known axiom: "Muslims are brothers", and has been preserved and renewed in men's minds by Islam through the common fast, the pilgrimage to Mecca and the Kaa'ba as a unique spiritual shrine, thus creating a constant, identical feeling of belonging and communality throughout the Muslim world. Anyone who has ever gone down among the ordinary people following a disaster in a faraway Muslim country will see for himself just how strong this feeling of sympathy and solidarity is.

How is it, then, that this "folk pan-Islamism", undoubtedly present in the shape of strong feelings of the masses, does not have much effect on the everyday life and practical policy of the Muslim countries? Why does it remain as just a feeling, never rising to real awareness of a common destiny? How to explain the fact that although news of the sufferings of Muslims in Palestine or the Crimea, in Sinkiang, Kashmir or Ethiopia arouse feelings of dejection and unanimous condemnation everywhere, at the same time action is either lacking or is not at all in proportion to the feelings which exist.

The answer to this lies in a fact which contradicts the feelings of ordinary people: deliberate action by leading circles, trained in the West or under Western influence, has been not pan-Islamic but nationalist. The instinct and con-sciousness of the Muslim peoples have been divided and opposed. In this state of affairs, any significant action would be and will remain impossible.

Contemporary pan-Islamism is therefore primarily an endeavour to attune consciousness and feelings, in order for us to desire what we are and to reject what we are not.

This situation determines the character and fate of nationalism in the contemporary Muslim world.

Everywhere in the world nationalism has occurred in the shape of a widespread movement of the people, the affirmation of their inclinations (music, folklore and particularly language). The Muslim countries, however, usually evince a stunted form of this, or even a kind of non-national or a-national nationalism. The explanation should be sought on the one hand in the fact that the general feeling has absorbed pan-Islamism, and on the other that nationalism here is conceived as a substitute for Islam and as such has always represented an anti-Islamic movement. Finding itself in natural conflict with the people's past and traditions - which are always and only Islamic - nationalist movements in a number of Muslim countries actually carry on a kind of de-nationalization, very similar to their colonialist predecessors. The position of the Arab language, for instance, in some Arab countries - at least as far as the attitude of the nationalist administration is concerned - is not much better than at the time of the Anglo-French occupation. If anything is done in this respect, it lack enthusiasm, or it is the work of forces which have yet to be born. (By comparison, the Jews successfully introduced an almost forgotten language - Hebrew - into Israel). The reason for this attitude towards Arabic is simple: as the

language of the Qu'ran and Islamic civilization, it is more the instrument of Islamic than Arabic, pan-Arabic or other generalized nationalist feeling. The protagonists of nationalism have correctly assessed (or intuited) this and found an unprecedented solution: they and their administrations speak the language of the previous occupiers(!) In the Muslim world there is no patriotism without Islam.

These conclusions confirm in their own way that nationalist ideas in the Muslim world are of un-Islamic origin. This is most apparent in the Middle East, where the pioneers of nationalism are Syrian intellectuals and Christian Lebanese, educated at the American Institute (primarily the Syrian Protestant College) and at the University of St. Joseph in Beirut. An examination of the spiritual and historical roots of Attaturk's movement in Turkey, Sukarno's *pancha sila** in Indonesia, the Baath party in some Arab countries (particularly some of its off-shoots) and a whole series of nationalist and "revolutionary" groups throughout the Muslim world, confirm this conclusion. Pan-Islamism has always sprung from the very heart of the Muslim people, while nationalism has always been imported goods.

The Muslim peoples, therefore, have no "gift" for nationalism. Should we shed tears over this?

Even if we were to ignore for a moment the salient truth that the principle of a spiritual community is superior to that of a nation, we would have to, in view of the moment at which this message is being written, advise our peoples not to try to

**pancha sila*: five basic principles (translator's note)

attain this "ability". Even nations who have lived for centuries in national communities will be required in future to gradually adapt to new forms of common life, on a broader communal base. Farsighted people in France and Germany are today advising their fellow-citizens to feel a little less French or German, and a little more European. The creation of the European Economic Community - although this claim may seem unacceptable at first sight - is the most constructive event in twentieth-century European history. This supra-national structure is the first real victory of the European peoples over nationalism. Nationalism has become a luxury, too expensive for small nations, or even for medium-sized or large ones.

The modern world is facing development which in a certain way bears no comparison with the past. With its incredibly expensive programmes of education, research, business, defence and so on, this development demands a hitherto unknown and unguessed at concentration of people and resources, and objectively speaking, offers a chance only to the great nations, or to be more precise, to leagues of nations. Two unions presently rule the world - the American and the Soviet - while a third is on the way - the European Union. A community which cannot gather together a population of 200 million and earn 200 billion dollars in GNP - and these figures show signs of growing - cannot keep in step and will have to make do with an inferior position. It will not only not govern others but will be unable to govern itself. The rate of development ceases to be a deciding factor. Its place has been

taken by these absolute figures. China's development is far below that of France or England, but thanks to an enormous concentration of people and resources, evidences a certain superiority in the current race. This situation means a chance for the Muslim world, undeveloped but large.

There is one more thing which urgently calls for concerted effort on the part of the Muslim countries.

The economic and cultural backwardness of the Muslim countries is deteriorating from day to day due to a sudden growth in their populations. Two Muslim countries - Egypt and Pakistan - currently have the highest birthrate in the world. According to some estimates, 20 million Muslims come into the world each year. If growth continues at the present rate, the Muslim world will double within its present borders by the end of the century. Can we welcome, feed, school and employ the millions still waiting to be born? This dramatic demographic development, if unaccompanied by equally swift economic and social progress, is full of potential dangers and uncertainties. Over the past twenty years, this "demographic inflation" has mainly absorbed any growth in production, so that GNP in the majority of Muslim countries is less today than two decades ago. This burst of population, instead of being a factor of power in a united Muslim world, has become a source of crisis and despair for the disparate Muslim countries.

It is clear that the Muslim countries cannot deal singly with this problem. We can face this situation and simultaneously

compensate for the lost years of backwardness and stagnation only through a new quality - unity. What the Arabs, Turks, Persians or Pakistanis cannot solve on their own, Muslims can, in one, joint, coordinated effort.

Each Muslim country can construct its own freedom and prosperity only if by doing so it also constructs the freedom and prosperity of all Muslims. Wealthy Kuwait and Libya cannot survive as islands of prosperity in a sea of misery. If they do not evince Islamic solidarity and a desire to assist neighbouring Muslim countries, if they are led by selfishness, will this not direct these countries towards similar behaviour? And this would lead to the hatred and chaos so desired by their enemies. By carrying out their Islamic duty, the wealthy Muslim countries are acting in their own greatest interest.

The alternative facing every Muslim country is clear: either to unite with other Muslim countries, thus ensuring survival, progress and the strength to face any temptation, or to lag behind more and more with every passing day, eventually falling into a state of dependence on wealthy foreigners. The current historic moment give unity a new dimension: it is no longer just a fine idea on the part of idealists and visionaries; unity has become essential, a necessity, the law of survival and a condition for self-respect in the world of today. Those who for whatever reason or motive support the present factionalism, are to all intents and purposes on the side of the enemy.

CHRISTIANITY AND JUDAISM

For reasons of space, it is not possible here to explain the attitude of Islam towards all major doctrines and systems outside its own sphere. It is, however, necessary to explain its attitude towards the two major religions: Christianity and Judaism, and two ruling world systems: capitalism and socialism.

As far as Christianity is concerned, we differentiate between Christ's teaching and the church. The former we regard as the pronouncement of God, deformed on some points, and the latter as an organization, which with its inevitable hierarchy, politics, wealth and interests, has become not only non-Islamic, but anti-Christian. Anyone who needs to define his attitude towards Christianity should be asked to specify whether he means Christ's teaching or the Inquisition. The church in its history has always swung between these two poles. The more the church is the expression and interpreter of the ethical teaching of the Gospels, the further it is from the Inquisition, and thus closer to Islam. We applaud the new tendencies in the church declared by the last Vatican Council, because we consider that to a certain extent they come closer to the original tenets of Christianity. If Christians so wish, the future may offer an example of understanding and cooperation between two great religions for the well-being of people and mankind, just as the past has been the battlefield of their senseless intolerance and strife.

The Islamic attitude towards Judaism is based on a similar principle. We have lived together with the Jews for centuries,

even building a common culture, so that in some cases we cannot with certainty say what in that culture is Islamic and what Judaic.

However, under the leadership of the Zionists, the Jews in Palestine initiated action which is as inhuman and ruthless as it is shortsighted and audacious. This policy takes only a momentary and temporary state of relations into account, losing sight of the constant factors and the general balance of power between Jews and Muslims in the world. In Palestine it throws the gauntlet down to the whole Muslim world. Jerusalem is not only a question for the Palestinians, or even for Arabs. It is a question for all the Muslim peoples. To keep Jerusalem, the Jews would have to conquer Islam and Muslims, and that - thank God - lies beyond their power.

We would like to differentiate between Jews and Zionists, if the Jews themselves summon up the strength to make this difference. We hope that the military victories which they have chalked up against the divided Arab regimes (not against the Arabs and not against Muslims), will not totally darken their understanding and that they will start to eliminate the confrontation which they themselves created, in order to clear the way to a common life on Palestinian soil. If, however, they continue along the road of pride, which at the moment seems more likely, there is only one solution for the Islamic movement and all Muslims in the world: to continue the struggle, to widen and lengthen it day by day, year by year, whatever the sacrifice or however long it may take, until they are forced to return every inch of confiscated

land. Any bargaining or compromise which might set at risk the elementary rights of our brothers in Palestine is treachery, which could destroy the moral system on which our world rests.

These opinions are not the reflection of any new policy of Islam towards Christians and Jews, dictated by a transitory set of circumstances. They are only a practical conclusion drawn from Islamic principles on the recognition of Christianity and Judaism and taken almost word for word from the Qu'ran (Qu'ran 29/45, 2/136, 5/47-49).

CAPITALISM AND SOCIALISM

What are the structural forms and political shapes in which the Islamic Rebirth of our day is to manifest itself? Are any of the forms of organization and society, characteristic of Western civilization - representative democracy, capitalism, socialism - good for Islamic society too, and will our society be inevitably obliged to proceed through these and similar forms?

Over the past two centuries, the idea has taken firm hold that every country must eventually turn towards representative democracy. Recent developments, particularly in the inter-war period, have proved the opposite in some cases and shown that classical democracy is not an unavoidable stage in the evolution of the social and political community. Similarly, there are those today who attempt to prove that socialism is the essential direction in which human society is moving, whether it likes it or

not. Contemporary developments in the so-called capitalist countries in Europe and America, however, quite adamantly deny this prophecy of historic necessity and point to unexpected aspects of development. On the other side of the world, in Japan, a leap has been made straight from a feudal economy into what would in Europe be called a higher form of capitalist monopoly. The patterns people set in order to systematize historical development have turned out to be very relative, and if any rules exist for the development of society, they are obviously not of the kind described by European thought of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

This imaginary determinism acted to suppress the conscience of the previous generations; besides this, it was exploited as a powerful psychological means of spreading ideas. In effect, the system influences the state of a country only to the extent to which it instigates or directly organizes work, which is the real source of all wealth.

Freed from the psychosis of historical necessity and thanks to the middle ground which Islam occupies, we can without prejudice consider the good and bad sides of the existing systems, no longer as capitalism and socialism, but as certain practices of contemporary societies.

Capitalism and socialism in their pure forms no longer exist. The speed of development after World War II left them far behind. Only a fossilized Marxist political economy, which is becoming less a science and increasingly the handmaid of policy, continues

to repeat the original statement, as if nothing had occurred in the world over the past fifty years. Judging by many significant symptoms, the classic standards of what is capitalist and what socialist will soon be totally inadequate to denote economic and social phenomena in the immediate future.

If we accordingly refuse to be led by slogans and terminology and take only the facts we see in the world about us into account, we must admit the extraordinary evolution of the capitalist world over the past thirty years: its dynamism, its ability to set science and the economy in motion, while ensuring a high degree of political freedom and legal security. On the other hand, we cannot ignore the achievements of the socialist system either, particularly in mobilizing material resources, in education and in eliminating traditional forms of poverty.

In the same way, we cannot lose sight of the dark and unacceptable side of their progress and the deep crises which occasionally convulse both systems.

The pragmatic openness of Islam towards solving questions of world organization gives it the advantage of being able to study without prejudice the positive and negative experiences of others, above all the USA, USSR and Japan. These three countries represent, in principle and practice, three very different approaches to solving elementary questions of prosperity and power.

The development of capitalism in the past thirty years has demonstrated the error inherent in some of the basic assumptions

of Marxism. Here we would mention three:

1. The contradiction between productive forces and production relations has not shown itself to be inevitable in capitalism. Capitalism has not only overcome the contradiction, but has enabled a hitherto unheard of development and take-off of production, knowledge and labour productivity;
2. The working class in leading capitalist countries has not opted for a revolution;
3. The relationship between being and consciousness, "base" and "superstructure" is not what Marx claimed it would be. We have capitalism in Sweden and capitalism in Argentina. The differences in the base in these countries are differences of degree; the differences in their superstructures (forms of political power, laws, religion, ruling philosophy, art and so on) are differences in essence.

Development in the world, then, has not followed the path mapped out for it by Marx. The advanced countries retained capitalism while continuing to develop it, while socialism came to power in a number of underdeveloped countries, which from the point of view of Marxism, is an inexplicable anomaly.

How should we interpret the interest evinced by the underdeveloped countries for certain forms of socialist economy?

In the first place, this has shown itself to be useful when organizing an extensive economy, appropriate to countries which have no starting point, in that they have neither capital, expertise, work routines or much else; secondly, more backward

environments adapt more easily to the various types of restriction (a lesser degree of personal freedom, centralism, strong government etc.) which always accompany certain types of socialism;

thirdly, although outclassed as a science, socialism has survived as a myth and an adventure. This very important aspect of socialism more than explains its greatly growing influence in Catholic and Latin countries in comparison with Protestant and Germanic ones.

In contrast, the pragmatic spirit of capitalism is more suited to the rationalism of a developed society. It has been proved that developed forms of capitalist economy function successfully in a society with democratic forms of government, an advanced level of culture and a high degree of personal and political freedom. In conditions such as these, some of the more inhuman aspects of capitalist economy can actually be considerably neutralized without any major impairment of its efficiency.

So the imaginary inevitability of this system or that comes to nothing. What is, in fact, inevitable is the continuous mobility of the economy, based on the continued advance of science and technology. The perfecting of the work process and its tools is, it seems, the only activity in which people "must" engage in this domain.

Accordingly, neither Islam nor the world at large is faced with the dilemma of capitalism or socialism, as any such dilemma is imaginary and artificial. There is, however, the question of choosing and constantly working to perfect a system of relations

between property and production, which will be efficient and in harmony with the Islamic understanding of social justice; which will stimulate work and activity in the best possible way and solve the problems posed by the inevitable development of production and technology.

C O N C L U S I O N

These are some of the main ideas and essential dilemmas of the Islamic rebirth, which is taking increasing hold of people's minds as a general transformation of the Muslim peoples - moral, cultural and political. In the midst of all the defeat and disappointment, the Islamic rebirth is a name to inspire hope and a way out for an extensive region of the world.

No Muslim for whom adherence to Islam is not sheer coincidence, but rather a programme and a duty, can reject this vision, but many in their indecision will enquire: where are the forces which will make it come true?

To answer this unavoidable question, we point to the new Islamic generation who will soon come of age. This generation of one hundred million boys and girls, born into Islam, growing up in the bitterness of defeat and humiliation, united in a new Islamic patriotism, who will refuse to live on old fame and alien help and who will gather around aims which mean truth, life and dignity - bear within them the strength to bring about this impossible undertaking and to confront every trial.

This generation could not have appeared before. The epoch of illusion and error had to be lived through to the end, in order to show the powerlessness of false gods, of various fathers of the homeland and saviours of society, kings and *mahdis*, for them to beat us on Sinai, endanger Indonesia, unsettle Pakistan, talk much of freedom, prosperity and progress while creating only tyranny, poverty and corruption - all this was necessary in order for us to arrive at a time of sobriety, for a generation to be born to whom it is clear that all this was but aimless wandering and that there is only one way out for the Islamic world: to turn to its own spiritual and material sources, which means Islam and Muslims.

The Islamic world today is an extraordinary patchwork of peoples, races, laws and influences, but there is one thing which is met in every corner of that world with the same respect and loyalty: the Qu'ran, one feeling which is the same in Java, India, Algeria or Nigeria: the feeling of belonging to the general Islamic community. These two loyalties in the elementary feelings of millions of ordinary people hold reserves of quiet energy and represent something which is the same throughout the Muslim world today. Because of them the Muslim world is even now an emotional community of international dimensions, perhaps the only multinational emotional (but not organized) community in the world.

As an integral part of these feelings and the result of the long influence of Islamic ethics, we constantly meet, in the form of folk wisdom, with vital concepts of human equality, social

justice, tolerance and *merhama** towards all life forms. These facts do not of themselves mean a better and more humane world, but they do mean the promise of one.

These feelings indicate that the Muslim world is alive, for where there is love and fellow-feeling, there is not death but life. The Islamic world is not a desert; it is virgin soil awaiting the ploughman's hand. Thanks to these facts, our task becomes real and possible. It consists of turning these feelings, now only potential forces, into active ones. Loyalty to the Qu'ran should grow into determination to apply it; the Islamic community of emotions should turn into an organized, aware community, and folk humanism into clear ideas, which will become the moral and social character of future laws and institutions.

Who will carry out this transformation, and how shall it be done?

Every action taken in relation to events is social action. Every successful struggle can only be a joint, organized struggle. The younger generation will be able to carry out its task of transformation only if its inclinations and idealism are poured into an organized movement, in which the enthusiasm and personal value of the individual will be correlated with methods of joint, coordinated action. The creation of this movement with a single basic aim and programme is an irrevocable condition and starting point for rebirth in every Muslim country.

**merhama*: mercy (translator's note)

This movement will gather together what is built, raise the unbuilt, elevate and call on people, define aims and find a way to attain them. It will introduce life, thought and action everywhere. It will become the conscience and will of a world awakening out of a long, deep sleep.

In sending this message to all Muslims throughout the world, we wish clearly to state that there is no promised land, no miracle-workers or *mahdis*. There is only the way of work, struggle and sacrifice.

In times of trial let us always have in mind two things: behind us stands God's blessing and the consent of our people.

YOU WILL NOT BE ABLE TO SAY THAT YOU DID NOT KNOW!